4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

descriptions; and the women have been taught needle-work, embroidery, and all branches of culinary knowledge.[40]

In 1822 an observer in Rio noted:

When the Emperor had received the public bodies, he came and led the Empress into the great receiving room, and there, both of them standing on the upper step of the throne, had their hands kissed by naval, military and civil officers, and private citizens. . . . . It was curious, but it pleased me, to see some Negro officers take the small white hand of the Empress in their clumsy black hands, and apply their pouting African lips to so delicate a skin; but they looked up to *Nosso Imperador* (Our Emperor), and to her, with a reverence that seemed to me a promise of faith *from* them, a bond of kindness *to* them.[41]

"There is evidently," commented another visitor, "a sincere wish to make the liberated slave a useful citizen, if possible."[42]

Custom came gradually to grant the slave, as Burton has pointed out, many of the rights of a freeman:

He may educate himself, and he is urged to do so. He is regularly catechised, and in all large plantations there is a daily religious service. If assailed in life or limb he may defend himself against his master, or any white man, and an over-harsh proprietor or overseer always runs considerable risk of not dying in bed. He is legally married, and the chastity of his wife is defended against his owner. He has little fear of being separated from his family: the humane instincts and the religious tenets of the people are strongly opposed to this act of barbarity. He has every chance of becoming a free man: manumission is held to be a Catholic duty and priestly communities are ashamed of holding slaves. . . . .[43]

[40] *Op. cit.*, I, 258: "The owners said that all their own immediate relations were rich; . . . . and that therefore these their children had no right to work for any one else."

[41] Graham, *op. cit.*, p. 319. [42] Codman, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

[43] *Op. cit.*, pp. 271–72. Some cases undoubtedly occurred in which the master refused to manumit a slave upon his presenting the cost price, but these were probably rare. Koster (*op. cit.*, I, 192–94) says that, although

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

CHAPTER VIII

RACIAL IDEOLOGY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

815
829
[178]

IN RECENT years there has grown up in Brazil a lively interest in the African and his descendants. This has resulted, among other things, in the holding of two *Congressos Afro-brasileiros*, the first of which met in Recife in November, 1934, and the second in Bahia in January, 1937. Composed of intellectuals having a common interest in the Brazilian Negro, their agenda indicate that such interest is confined almost entirely to three fields: (1) the history of African importation and slavery; (2) problems of acculturation, with especial attention to the survivals of African cultural forms; and (3) anthropometric variations. Generally absent is any concern with problems of racial conflict or accommodation, implying quite definitely the comparative absence of these problems in the social order as well as the comparative absence of any race consciousness answering to them on the part of the Negro or any other ethnic group.

[641]

The participants in the 1937 *Congresso*, which met in Bahia, visited fetish-cult centers, witnessed *capoeira*[1] and *samba*[2] presentations, studied the material relics of fetish-cult ceremonies available in Bahian museums, honored the memory of Nina Rodrigues (who some forty years ago pioneered in studies of the Afro-Brazilian cults in Bahia),[3] and

[535]

[1] See chap. ix.

[2] The *samba*, probably of African origin, is a dance with vocal accompaniment (see chap. ix), as well as a musical form.

[3] See Nina Rodrigues, *L'Animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia* (Bahia, 1900) and *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

815
S2a
[641]

passed resolutions protesting police interference with the *candomblé* and demanding full religious liberty in the exercise of its rites.

Papers presented to this congress by Brazilians dealt with such subjects as "Slave Insurrections in the Province of Espirito Santo during the Nineteenth Century," "Old Documents concerning the Negroes of the Palmares," "Castro Alves and Brazilian Poetical Treatment of the Negro Slave," "The *Africano* in Bahia," "Chapters in Afro-Brazilian Ethnology in Rio Grande," "Bantú Contributions to Religious Syncretism in Brazil," "A Revision of Afro-Brazilian Ethnology," "The *Africano* and His Culture in Brazil," "The *Orixá*[4] of the Poor," "The School of Nina Rodrigues," and "The Negro and the Problem of Acculturation in Brazil." Only one paper was not concerned with ethnological or historical problems; and it, although it took account of ethnic differences, did not treat of any form of racial conflict. It dealt with "The Negro Criminal in Bahia."

Similar questions were discussed in the first *Congresso Afro-brasileiro*, which met in Recife, sponsored by Gilberto Freyre, a social historian whose *Casa grande e senzala* and *Sobrados e mucambos* throw significant light upon the Negro in colonial and imperial Brazil.[5] This gathering was, because of its informal character and the attempt to present factual data, "something new in Brazil."[6] As Freyre describes it:

> There was lacking both formality and a consciousness of class. Around a table, at the head of which different individuals took turns

[4] *Orixá* is a Yoruba word meaning "deity."

[5] An interesting estimate of Freyre's work by Dr. Lewis Hanke appears in the *Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations*, July, 1939, pp. 24-44, under the title "Gilberto Freyre: Brazilian Social Historian."

[114]

[6] Gilberto Freyre, "O que foi o primeiro Congresso Afro-brasileiro no Recife," in *Novos estudos afro-brasileiros*, ed. Freyre *et al.* (Rio, 1937), p. 348.

[SALVADOR]

826
*563 /13 cont./
562
829
192
[113] may not be of African blood (3).

3. Arthur Ramos, Introduçao a Antropologia Brasileira, II, Rio de Janeiro, 1947.

829
*563 The Indians and the descendants of the cross between Indians and Whites are generally called cabôclos, but this expression is
192 no longer very common in Bahia and rarely serves to characterize
[178] the corresponding type. The term cabôclo has become, like that
[196] of "my Negro," rather a formula of tenderness between individuals of any color whatsoever. It must be noted, moreover, thanks to
175 old statistics, that toward the middle of the eighteenth century, in
829 response to complaints about Brazilian "nativism," the Portuguese
648 government prohibited the use of the term cabôclo, to which was
• 641 then attached an insulting meaning, and granted at the same time the
576 civil status of Whites to Indians and to their descendants of mixed
192 blood, so that they could contract marriage with the Whites and fulfill official duties in the colony; it is in that manner that the contingents of mamelucos or cabôclos were assimilated with the
192 Whites in the military roles of the time. The word meanwhile
178 lost its insulting import and in our day is even considered a com-
829 pliment when it refers to a cabôclo bom, that is to say, a man of
576 good manners.

The Negroid albinos and the mulattoes with red, blond, or
144 light auburn hair are known by the name of sararás.
192 The exact designation of these different types has always /14/
144 represented a difficulty, as much for anthropologists as for the
*563 persons charged with identifying school children, the military,
829 the criminals (1).

144
*563 1. According to the Bahian anthropologist Nina
829 Rodriguez (in her book As raças humanas e a
815 responsabilidade penal no Brasil /The Human
[113] Races and Penal Responsibility in Brazil/, 3rd edition, written at the beginning of the century), the métis include: 1st, the mulattoes produced from the cross between the White and the Negro:

[SALVADOR]

/21 cont./

*563 565 829 the Bahians congregate together or avoid one another much more in terms of their social rank than of their color or their race.

Crossbreeding is not forbidden by any law and comes up against [656] [626] the disapprobation of opinion only to the extent that it affects the structure of classes firmly established in the country: upper strata made up almost exclusively of Whites, that is to say, persons of white phenotype or at least "socially white," lower strata made up chiefly of colored people; a classification which makes classes and racial types approximately coincide, without, however, making them identical.

175 *563 From the early days of Portuguese colonization there has been a large number of colored persons in Bahia. In the beginning the [595] colonists mixed largely with the tupi /Tupi/ Indian women of the region, living with them in a state of concubinage and often [567] polygamy. Slavery having been abolished in the first half of the [641] seventeenth century for the aborigines, and civil and political rights having been granted them a short time afterward, cross- [829] breeding continued through marriage. Thus, today a large number of morenos explain their dark color by boasting about some ancestor pegado a dente de cachorro, that is to say, captured like an animal that one hunts in the virgin forest in the wild state. [161] But the number of natives decreased rapidly and had little influ- [167] ence on the formation of the Bahian type. The opposite /22/ [567] occurred with the Africans brought by the thousands and thousands to work on the sugar-cane plantations. The crossbreeding of Portuguese and Brazilians with Africans and Blacks born in Brazil was made possible and even favored by different factors, among them the scarcity of white women in the initial period, the slave system, the laxness of social control with regard to male sexual behavior, the physical and psychological charms of black women, in particular the minas Blacks, natives of the Costa da Mina in [829] the western Sudan. It was commonly said at that time that, in order to see beautiful Negresses, it was necessary to go to Bahia (1);

1. F. Biard, Deux années au Brésil /Two years in Brazil/, Paris, 1862.

[SALVADOR]

/19 cont./

665 666 578 828 [646] This means that Brazilians born in other States have made careers in different parties of Bahia and have been elected to represent the Bahians at the legislative assembly of the State or at the national parliament. The same candidate, moreover, had been elected governor several years earlier, before this attribute of "foreigner" exerted a decisive influence in the fight led against him.

829 577 /20/ Brazilian customs condemn all social discrimination; the Bahians, particularly those of the more advanced groups, pride themselves on these traditions of tolerance and liberalism, and consider them proper for forming the very prototype of the cordial Brazilian man whom Gobineau describes: "to be very polished, gracious, very friendly," and whose qualities are defined by a Brazilian sociologist as a mixture of kindness, tolerance, and good manners. Life in Bahia is appreciated and envied by some, criticized by others for its slow rhythm, its lack of combativeness, its strict particularism, and for the thousand mechanisms that always work in a way to mitigate the antagonisms and the conflicts between groups and individuals. The French sociologist Roger Bastide said some years ago that it is good "that in Bahia very rapid progress is not at all prejudicial to the qualities of soul that make up its charm."

181 182

• 641 829 186 What contributes a great deal toward mitigating the tensions between the groups that confront one another in the society of Bahia is the polarization of dissatisfaction that in all of Brazil, but especially in our city, takes place concerning the idea of "government," that is to say, public authorities in general, the population having the habit of discharging on them its aggressive impulses, imputing to this very vague entity all the evils that beset Bahia.

829 * 563 As for race relations, one may state that a certain antagonism exists between Blacks and mulattoes. There are, without doubt, some color prejudices in Bahia, but, as a moreno of liberal profession says, "prejudice is not only the doing of Whites; out of fear of being assimilated with the Blacks, the mulatto avoids them and draws closer to the Whites." A number of informants think that

[SALVADOR]

*563 453 464

/50 cont./

"In the banks dark individuals can no longer have careers," say our informants. In an important national bank, according to some, Blacks or very pigmented mulattoes are not admitted; in the branches that this bank has in the city colored employees are few, and these in any case are very light. This selection occurs in the competition for admission, the candidates of dark color being examined with great strictness. In other banking establishments one notes a less marked discrimination. Although /51/ the directors and the managers of the local banks are all white, more or less finos, several employees of mixed blood are accepted there. In the offices of two of these banks one counts 13 light mulattoes and morenos, two dark mulattoes, and 21 Whites. But access to the offices of the directorship or management is very difficult, because these organizations, aside from the fact that they constitute in a certain sense traditional enterprises of some families, demand that one have at his disposal deposited capital, in the form of shares, in the companies managed by the banks, which is difficult for young colored men."

A public official therefore had valid reasons for saying that "the colored people occupy few positions in commerce."

•641 *563 [884]

/52/ Politics

Every Brazilian who has reached the age of 21 may be registered as a voter, provided that he can read and write and that he is engaged in a lawful occupation. His physical type is of no importance: the law does not make any distinction and the officials in charge of voting questions do not make any difficulties about registering colored persons of either sex. Everyone may thus enjoy the right to vote and to be elected.

162 641 *563 000

The number of voters in the State of Bahia is 875,000, in the city itself 139,000, a large proportion of which is colored people. And the number of the latter is increasing rapidly, for the social ascent of the proletarian masses in Brazil comes about by the acquisition of economic advantages and guarantees, but also and above all by the prize of political awareness and by access to civic rights. From this point of view politics is in the process

[SALVADOR]

/59 cont./

* 563 706 874 [504] of not admitting Blacks came to run this school; this occurred more than 20 years ago, under vehement protests. It is significant that among the articles that the papers published about this event those of a lawyer and professor of English, a black leader originally from a British colony of Africa, stand out in particular (1).

• [641]

1. In one of these articles this same Black wrote: "The Black is a preponderant ethnic factor in the formation of the crossbreeding so common in its various nuances in Brazil and, as a Brazilian in fact and by law, he is, before the Constitution, the equal of the White as a citizen of this same Republic. The School of naval apprentices having the right to choose its candidates, this right can be based only on moral precedents, on the aptitudes or the physical stamina of the candidates, and not on physical accidents of color.

* 563 641 Such episodes reveal one of the peculiar aspects of race relations in Bahia, as in all of Brazil, the freedom that has been given colored people to defend their rights themselves, by expressing themselves, sometimes with violence, against prejudice. Now not only is this freedom guaranteed them, but numerous finos Whites of high position, particularly university professors and intellectuals, support them by their writings. At present the naval apprentices are recruited among the poor classes, and numerous Blacks are found among them, as one may verify in the civic and military parades in which they take part. Blacks, métis, and Whites may advance in aviation and the navy up to the grades of sergeant and non-commissioned officer. That of officer, apart from the fact that it cannot be obtained except after specialized courses, presents other difficulties. The land army, of all the national military organizations, is the one that is considered the most /60/ accessible to colored people, even with regard to the officers. Among 12 superior officers who took part in a military

* 563 70 [565]